

A *after August*

LETTER

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TO

Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;

Occasion'd by the

LETTER

TO THE

EXAMINER.



L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year M.DCC.X.

LETTER

TO

From Bicknell, Edg.

Received by the

LETTER

TO THE

EXAMINER.



RECEIVED

LONDON

Printed in the Year M.DCCC.

S I R,

I Am not apt to judg too fondly of Men by their first Appearance ; else, as the Writer of the Letter to the Examiner has treated that Author, I might have been tempted long since, and when I had seen little more than the Introduction to your *Tatlers*, to compliment you on your Abilities.

I own that from your setting out, I hop'd for great Benefit to the Publick from your Lucubrations ; but before you had pass'd a reasonable time of Probation, one could not absolutely assure one's self, that you would make a right use of that excellent Genius which Heaven has given you. Wit had so long and so generally been made to serve the vilest purposes, on pretence its end is to please, that the plainest Truth in Nature, namely, that Honesty and Pleasure are inseparable, seem'd irrecoverably sunk into Oblivion, till you undertook to bring it up again into clear day, not by Argument, but Example, by numerous Sketches, and some finish'd Pieces drawn with irresistible Strength and Beauty.

As you disclos'd your Design by degrees, you had my Esteem in proportion ; and you will allow me to say you had it not intire, till in the course of your Papers I had observ'd, that as you could discern and describe, much better than our *Drydens* and *Lestranges*, the true Springs of private and domestick Happiness ; you had likewise so much more Generosity of Spirit and Benevolence for Mankind than they, as to insinuate gradually into the Publick, that as acting with all the noble Simplicity of Nature and common Reason carries a Man with Ease and Honour thro all the Scenes and Offices of ordinarily Life ; so the same Principles, which in Friendship, Love, and common Converse and Society, go to the Composition of the Person, whom both Sexes agree to call by the good-natur'd name of *the generous honest Man*, must necessarily contribute to the forming of the best Servants of a Prince, and the truest Patriots.

But as in doing this you took a proper Season to expose some of those brutish Notions of Government, and vile Arts of wretched Pretenders to Politicks, which are the certain Bane of national Felicity ; you have provok'd your Adversaries (while I was studying a Compliment of Thanks to you) to give you so high an Encomium, that 'tis impossible for me, with all the Affection and Veneration I have for you, to go beyond them. The Writer of the *Letter to the Examiner* comparing you to *Cato* the Censor, and forgetting (as Men of his Vivacity of Imagination may be allow'd to do, without bringing their reading in question) that there were two *Catos*, applies to you *Lucan's* fam'd Saying of the last,

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

That however Providence dispos'd of Events, he adher'd to the just, tho vanquisht Cause. And the Examiner pursuing the same Thought, reminds you, by a sneering Application of some words of Virgil,

—*Tua Cælo*

Præcipitant, suadentque cadentia Sydera somnos.

That you have chosen a time to declare your Sentiments, when the Patrons of both them and you are removing from Court.

Thus, Sir, I have staid till nothing is left me but only to congratulate you on the very great Honour they have done you: And to confess the Truth, I am glad I can so easily acquit my self of the most troublesom Part of a Visit, Salutes and Compliments.

Permit me now to enter into free Conversation with you. We see a Change of the Ministry, and are inform'd of the Motives and Reasons of this Alteration by a Person who has the Marks of being in the Secret of the prevailing Side. The Letter to the Examiner bespeaks the Writer to be conversant at Court, and with the Principals of his Party; and this not only by some particular Passages, but by the whole Tenour of it: So that, in short, it seems to be the Sum and Quintessence of what can be said for them. We must have been content, Sir, if they had not given the Publick any Reasons at all for their admission into Royal Favour; but I suppose, if they vouchsafe to give us Reasons, we are not oblig'd to be content with them implicitly, but may examine them freely. This I have done, and you will presently see in what manner, and why I chuse to address my self thus publickly to Mr. Bickerstaff.

This Writer's Deduction of the Actions that sunk the old Ministry, and brought in the new, is so thick embroider'd with Oratory, that the ground of Facts is very hard to be distinguish'd clearly, and must in great measure be ever subject to his own Interpretation; which (by the way) is the usual Artifice of his Party. I must therefore quote his own words at length.

Let us survey the present State of our Domestick Affairs, and examine whether from the Conduct of the Ministry, and of the factious Whigs, the French King has not good Grounds to expect to see us in Confusion, and by consequence the great Band of the Confederacy dissolv'd.—

Notwithstanding all the Pains which have been taken to lessen her Character in the World, by the Wits of the Kit-Cat, and the Sages of the Cellar; Mankind remains convinc'd, that a Queen possess'd of all the Virtues requisite to bless a Nation, or to make a private Family happy, sits on the Throne.

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By an excess of Goodness she delighted to raise some of her Servants to the highest Degrees of Riches, of Power, and of Honour; and in this only Instance can be said to have griev'd any of her Subjects.

The Rule which she had prescrib'd to these Persons, as the Measure of their Conduct, was soon departed from. But so unable were they, to associate with Men of honest Principles than themselves, that the Sovereign Authority was parcel'd out among a Faction, and made the Purchase of Indemnity for an offending Minister. Instead of the mild Influences of a gracious Queen governing by Law, we soon felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection to the Will of an arbitrary Junto, and to the Caprice of an insolent Woman.

Unhappy Nation, which expecting to be govern'd by the best, fell under the Tyranny of the worst of her Sex! But now, Thanks be to God, that Fury, who broke loose to execute the Vengeance of Heaven on a sinful People, is restrain'd, and the Royal Hand is already reach'd out to chain up the Plague.

One would expect, that on the first Appearance of the Queen's Displeasure, these little Tyrants should have had recourse to Submission, and to Resignation. But they believ'd the whole Nation as debauch'd and corrupted, as those profligate Wretches, who were in their Confidence; they imagin'd, that under the Name of their Prince, they should be able to govern against her declar'd Intention; and having usurp'd the Royal Seat, resolv'd to venture overturning the Chariot of Government, rather than to lose their Place in it. They set their Mistress at open Defiance, neither the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Allegiance, were any Restraint to them.

Their first Attempt was to take that Privilege from her, which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was to pursue her even into her Bedchamber.

Here the Nation in general took the Alarm; a Spirit of Loyalty began to rise, which the Faction foresaw would no longer bear to have the meanest Submission shewn to the Ministers, whilst common Decency was hardly us'd towards the Throne. The Conspirators resolv'd therefore to precipitate their Measures, and a rash intemperate Sermon was made the Pretence of their Clamour. Those who prove themselves Friends to this Government by avowing Principles inconsistent with any, presum'd daily to try the Title of the Queen, and to limit the Allegiance of the Subject. The Party-Agents of every Rank were employ'd to declaim in Publick Places, and we had the Mortification to see Cabals of Upstarts sit in Judgment on the Right and Authority of the Crown, who, had it not been for the Profusion of Royal Favour, could have had no Pretence to be common Tryers in any Cause.

By long insipid Harangues and fulsome Panegyrick, the Merits of the Ministers were exalted: The whole Success of the Administration both at Home and Abroad was singly attributed to them; and lest the Queen should think fit to declare them dangerous, she was by necessary Consequence from the Positions laid down, declar'd her self to be useless.

This Attempt had likewise an Effect, contrary to what the Projectors of it expected. The Ferment, instead of abating, increas'd; the Bulk

of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty of Britain, declar'd themselves loudly in the Cause of their Prince; and those Disorders, which the Faction had rais'd for their Security, threaten'd their Destruction.

You see, Sir, our Author pushes very gallantly, and with all the Warmth and Liveliness he could muster up; yet I fancy he may be disarm'd, without putting one's self into any violent Agitations.

In the first place I must observe to you, that the Gentlemen who triumph at Court, are very desirous to have the visible means of their getting thither forgotten. They would not have it in the least imagin'd, that they owe anything to Dr. Sacheverel and his Friends. Our Author tells us his Sermon was rash and intemperate; and the Writer of the *Essay upon publick Credit* says (pag. 26.) the Doctor should have been kick'd from the Bar for a Lunatick. Which Harmony in these two Friends does not proceed from Ingratitude to any the meanest Instrument of their Elevation, but from a secret Consciousness, that the Principles and Designs of the Faction, on whose Shoulders the new Counsellors were born to Court, are too pernicious to be directly avow'd by Men, who are to acquire Credit from the Whigs as well as Tories, till they are rid of some Incumbrances. Such Caution is us'd therefore, that her Majesty's *Hereditary Title*, and absolute *Non-Resistance*, are not once mention'd by our Author in all his Letter; and yet so uncapable is he of concealing his Game, that the new Counsellors, and the Bulk of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commonalty of Britain, declaring themselves by their Addresses, on occasion of the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel, are represented by him to be all in one Interest, and actuated by the same Spirit of Loyalty; seeing he describes the former (p. 5.) by *Persons who appear'd at the Queen's Call, and in her Defence*, and says, the latter declar'd themselves in the Cause of their Prince. There seems to be so close an Alliance between these two Writers, that I know not whether it be properly digressing to pass sometimes from one to the other; and therefore I make no Apology for it.

The principal Cause which our Author has alledg'd for the Fall of the old Ministers and their Party, is, *The most undutiful Treatment of her Majesty by those very Subjects of hers whom she had rais'd to the highest Honours*. And upon this Stock he grafts the Conspiracy of the *Junto* with those Servants and others, to overturn the Chariot of Government, &c. Their setting their Mistress at open Defiance, taking from her that Privilege which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, and pursuing her with Slavery even into her Bedchamber. And our new Courtier is pleas'd to represent the helpless Queen suffering this inhuman Usage, without daring to assert the Royal Majesty; only that he might with the better Flourish introduce to her Relief the Nation in general (by which he would have us understand his Party) taking the Alarm, and a Spirit of Loyalty beginning to rise.

To this 'tis impossible to answer without some Emotion, that her Majesty has a Heart so intirely *English*, and has such an innate Idea of her Imperial Dignity, that the grossest Affront and Indignity ever yet offer'd her, was this Writer's audacious Invention of so wretched a Picture of her. How much more suitable to her sacred and real Character does the Author of the *Essay upon Publick Credit* describe her? That abler Gentleman, tracing the Causes of the great Credit the Government has had since her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, observes (pag. 19.) ' That after the first Session of Parliament in this Reign, ' her Majesty gave constant Assurances that every thing given ' should be *rightly apply'd*; and to encourage her People, gene- ' rously threw in a *Hundred Thousand Pounds of her own Money*, ap- ' propriated to the Civil List, to ease the Nation so much in ' that Year's Burden: *These were Steps* no Prince ever was known ' to take before. *After this* you never heard a Complaint of the ' heavy Burden of the Taxes, tho greater far than in the for- ' mer Reigns: On the contrary, *the more* you rais'd, *the easier* ' they were paid; *the more* the Nation ran in Debt, *the higher* ' their Credit rose every day. *After this* you never had any ' Commissioners of Accounts ask'd for, or any Question about ' Misapplication. No Man need go far for a Reason for this; ' *the Credit* center'd A L L in the Q U E E N, whose Concern ' was so visible for her Peoples Good, that S H E would S U F- ' F E R no *Misapplications*; that S H E would employ none ' but in whom S H E could place intire Confidence; whose ' *Probity and Exactness* her Majesty could answer for to H E R ' S E L F, &c.

But if we could be so irreverent, to suppose the Queen forgot her self, and her Character so far, as to suffer her own Servants to deprive her of any Privilege the meanest of her Subjects enjoy; our Author must have a very contemptible Opinion of Mankind, if he hopes to impose so gross a Fable upon them, as that the *Junto* enter'd into a Conspiracy to support that Insolence, and keep the Queen under such Subjection; and that the Whig-Party entering into so foolish a Project, propos'd to give the finishing Stroke to it by the Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel.

For the rest of his Romance; when our Author can find Men credulous enough to swallow so palpable a Falshood, as that her Majesty was ever hinder'd by the *Junto* from governing by Law, and that the Nation ever felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection to their arbitrary Will, he may hope to persuade them in the same Breath to believe his contradictory and poor Assertion, that this Will of the *Junto* was not so arbitrary as not to be comptrol'd by the Caprice of an insolent Woman, and that 'twas her Tyranny the Nation had the Unhappiness to fall under. But I suppose such Dreams of the Nation's having been under illegal Servitude of any kind for some years past, never enter'd into any Brain but our Author's, charg'd with the Fumes of his own Oratory.

I am mistaken, or the very Particulars he instances of the old Party at Court, betray the Practices of the contrary Faction. Nothing is more probable, than that some Female-Attendant on the Queen might be instigated to undermine and supplant a Lady, on whom the long Favour of her Royal Mistress, and the Merits of her Lord's Services, with her own undisguis'd Zeal for the *British Liberty*, had drawn the Envy and Hatred of the adverse Party. And that this Lady having the Judgment to discern the Persons and Principles that prompted such inferior Attendant, and the Spirit and Honesty to do her Duty, by remonstrating (with all Modesty, yet with all Plainness) against such slavish Insinuations of the Power of Princes, as tend, in their natural Consequence, to the impairing her Majesty's true Title and Interest, might easily acquire from the Party, so oppos'd in their Agent, the civil Appellations of *insolent Woman, the worst of her Sex, a Fury, and a Plague*. Nothing is more common in Courts than Calumny; and 'tis no wonder those Persons should pursue that Lady with the utmost Malice, who could have the Disingenuity to suggest to her Majesty, *that the Wits of the Kit-Cat, and the Sages of the Gellar, have taken Pains to lessen her Character in the World*. Nor can it well be doubted, that those who could descend to such pitiful Artifices, as to tell her Majesty, she was defrauded of her Glory, *the whole Success of the Administration, both at Home and Abroad, being singly attributed (in fulsome Harangues and Panegyrics) to the Ministers* (tho the publick Proofs to the contrary are numerous) might carry their servile Flattery so far, as to insinuate, that the permitting the old Ministers (each in his proper Station) to speak their free Sentiments to her Majesty on all Affairs that fell under their Cognizance, and to act accordingly in the ordinary and legal Methods, was in effect to let them *parcel out the Sovereign Authority among themselves*. In a word, what is it indeed that Party can be suppos'd incapable of attempting privately by their Principals and Agents, who, in their publick Addresses to her Majesty, offer her the Powers and Authority of an *Eastern Sultan*, rather than of a *British Queen*; and brand, with the Names of Atheists and Republicans, all those who assert the Principles which put the Crown upon her Majesty's Head; and which, if they had not been asserted in and by the Revolution, her Majesty must at this day have been a private Subject, notwithstanding that Hereditary Title, which they make the Ground and Reason of their proffer'd unlimited Obedience?

Turning the Perspective thus, we see a real Conspiracy, not of the Whigs to enslave their Sovereign, but of the Tories to enslave the Nation; And all we can gather from our Author's coarse Investives against the old Ministers and their Friends, is, that there was a Woman in the Bedchamber, as well as Men in the Council and chief Officers of the State, who constantly and vigilantly discharg'd their Trust and Conscience towards their
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Queen and Country, by remonstrating against, and rendring ineffectual, the private Insinuations and Intrigues of a restless *Faction*, who would deprive us of the inestimable Benefits of the Revolution; and whose publick Attempts towards it cannot be more dishonourable and base, tho they may be more successful, than their secret Machinations. For, not daunted by the Parliament's solemn Discussion and Condemnation of their slavish Tenets, but resolving to convince Her Majesty of the Truth of Mr. Stanhope's Assertion in her Presence, *that Dr. Sacheverell was the Tool of their Party*, the Doctor was encourag'd to make a triumphant Progress about the Country; and to turn to a solid Use the Delusion of his Crouds of Admirers, by recommending Persons to their Choice for the next Parliament. In the mean time abundance of Addresses were procur'd from all Quarters, avowing the very Doctrines he had preach'd, aspersing with the vilest Language all those who place her Majesty's legal Title, and their own legal Rights, on one and the same Foundation, and soliciting a new Parliament.

Thus the general Voice of the Party seconded the long fruitless Effects of their Agents at Court: And tho the Queen's plain Speech at the close of the last Session, will not permit one to doubt, that the N—— C——rs owe their Advancement to Causes subsequent to that Speech, tho no other Cause is visible than these Motions and Addresses of the Tories, and tho the Desires of those Addresses seem to be in a way to be gratify'd by the Dissolution of this Parliament; yet the Writer of the *Essay upon publick Credit* shews himself very solicitous to clear the N—— C——rs of any manner of Communication with Dr. Sacheverell and his Adherents. He proposes (p. 26.) *the long Accounts, which* (for a reasonable colour of their Fears of a bad Parliament) *some give of that Doctor's Progress*, as an Objection to Mens putting intire Confidence in the new M——y, and is so ingenuous to acknowledg, that Objection could not be fairly answer'd otherwise than in these words: *As if the Folly and impolitick Vanity of that Gentleman could influence the People of England to send up Men as mad and foolish as himself.* To this, what is more natural than to reply, that not a few of those People have sent up Addresses, as *mad and foolish* as the Doctor's Sermon, and promis'd to send up Members who shall repeat their Language? And this may likewise serve for an Answer to his grave Question, (p. 25.) *Why should it be suggested, that a new Parliament shall not be equally zealous for the Liberties of Britain with the present?*

But to return to our Author of the *Letter to the Examiner*. As he is conscious, that if a new Parliament be chosen according to the mind of *the Bulk of the Addressers*, he may leave it to others to judg, whether it *will be equally zealous for the British Liberties with the present*; so having no doubt upon him,
(for

(for he tells us, pag. 4. he writes against a *vanquish'd Cause*) that the Majority of the new Parliament will truly represent those Addressers, he gives sufficiently to understand, that they *will not* be equally zealous with the present for the *Liberties of Europe*, by discovering the Sentiments of the Chiefs of his Party on the Management of the War and the Negotiations of Peace. Take him in his own words.

Paint, Sir, with that Force which you are Master of, the present State of the War abroad, and expose to publick View those Principles, upon which, of late, it has been carry'd on, so different from those, upon which it was originally enter'd into.——

To restore the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, who by their own Supineness, and by the Perfidy of the French, had lost it; and to regain a Barrier for Holland, which lay naked and open to the Insults of France, were the wise and generous Motives, which engag'd Britain in the present War. We engag'd as Confederates, but we have been made to proceed as Principals: Principals in expence of Blood and of Treasure, whilst hardly a Second Place in Respect and Dignity is allow'd to us.

In the Year 1706. the last of these two Motives was effectually answer'd by the Reduction of the Netherlands; or might have been so, by the Concessions, which 'tis notorious that the Enemy offer'd. But the first Motive remain'd still in its full Force; and we were told, That tho the Barrier of Holland was secur'd, the Trade of Britain, and the Ballance of Power in Europe would be still precarious. Spain therefore was to be conquer'd, before we laid down our Arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole Attention of our Ministers would be apply'd to that Part of the War. Like Men of resign'd Understandings, we acquiesc'd, and flatter'd our selves, That since Holland had been secur'd in the first place, Britain would be taken care of in the second. But alas! these Expectations, like many others, have fail'd us.

From that Point of Time to this Hour, France has continu'd like a great Town invest'd indeed on every Part, but attack'd only on one. In Spain, in Savoy, on the Rhine, enough, and but just enough has been done, to serve as a Pretence for Estimates, and Demands of Supplies: But nothing decisive, nothing which had the Appearance of earnest, has been so much as attempted, except that wise Expedition to Thoulon, which we suffer'd to be defeated, before it began. The whole Stress of the War has been wantonly laid, where France is best able to keep us at Bay; as if we fight only to make Ostentation of our Valour, and of our Riches. Towns have been taken, and Battles have been won; the Mob has huzza'd round Bonfires, the Stentor of the Chappel has strain'd his Throat in the Gallery, and the Srentor of S——m has deafen'd his Audience from the Pulpit. In the mean while, the French King has withdrawn his Troops from Spain, and has put it out of his Power to restore that Monarchy to us, was he reduc'd low enough really to desire to do it. The Duke of Anjou has had leisure to take off those whom he suspected, to confirm
his

his Friends, to regulate his Revenues, to encrease and form his Troops, and above all, to rouse that Spirit in the Spanish Nation, which a Succession of lazy and indolent Princes had lull'd asleep.

From hence it appears probable enough, that if the War continue much longer on the present Foot; instead of regaining Spain, we shall find the Duke of Anjou in a Condition to pay the Debt of Gratitude, and support the Grandfather in his declining Years, by whose Arms, in the Days of his Infancy, he was upheld. The Dutch will have a larger and a better Country than their own, at the Expence of Britain, conquer'd for them, by those Ministers, who once thought it impolitick to consent, that even Ostend should be made a Part of their Barrier. The Emperor has already Bavaria; the Dutchy of Mantua, the State of Milan, and the Kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and some other Places dependent on these, may be added to his Portion; and by the little Care he now takes to support King Charles, we may easily judg how great his Concern will be, if that Prince should be depriv'd of all the rest.

Britain may expect to remain exhausted of Men and Money, to see her Trade divided amongst her Neighbours, her Revenues anticipated even to future Generations, and to have this only Glory left her, that she has prov'd a Farm to the Bank, a Province to Holland, and a Jest to the whole World.

If the Facts I have mention'd are true, and the Consequences I have drawn from them, are naturally deducible from such Causes, may not the King of France reasonably hope, tho Holland should be aggrandiz'd, that Britain will be in proportion weaken'd? May he not hope to exchange for a few Towns, which he either bought or stole in former Wars, to secure the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Bourbon for ever, by happily concluding this?

This is a very fair Specimen of the Intentions of our new Politicians. And indeed, no thinking Man could ever doubt, that those who come into play upon the Foot of complimenting the Queen with the Liberties of Britain, would secure themselves from an After-reckoning by sacrificing those of Europe. One might have expected however, that some Art should have been employ'd to disguise this Design. But such Contempt of the Understanding of the People of England have the prevailing Addressers given our new Managers, that they seem to think it needless, to use any Ceremony with so silly and profligate a Generation.

Thus our Author sets himself to open view, in the compleat Figure and Character of a profess'd Jacobite. One sees the true Distinctions and Spirit of that whole Party united in his Person: He declaims in the same Tone, and on the same Topics, with which they seek to keep themselves in heart, and to discourage and delude the unthinking Populace. The whole Management of the War, on the Part of the Allies, is treated with all Contempt and Ridicule; the Emperor, and the States General are maliciously traduc'd, and the British Nation are repre-

represented as Bubbles to those Potentates, lavishing their Blood and Treasure to make Acquisitions for them, and only intailing Debts on their own Posterity. Mean time the Conduct of the King of *France*, and of the Duke of *Anjou*, is applauded to the highest Degree; nothing is comparable to their Wisdom and Foresight: their Measures are so well laid, that they must infallibly produce the Effects they propose; they are so clear in their Projects, that they see Events gradually ripening long, till they break forth with *Eclat*. But I doubt not the World will be soon made sensible, that the bringing the Weight of the War into the *Netherlands*, (which our Author makes the chief Subject of his Raillery) was concerted upon the maturest Counsels; that the true State of Things on the Side of *Savoy*; the experienc'd Impossibility of penetrating into *France*, from the *Rhine* or *Moselle*; the Certainty and Facility of drawing almost all the *French* Force down to the *Netherlands*, and yet of distressing them, and continually advancing upon there; the Measures taken in the mean time, for duly and effectually supplying King *Charles*, and in consequence the fatal Blow given the Duke of *Anjou*; will prove the *French* Monarch at last, to have been the *Grand Dupe*; and that impartial Posterity will view with Astonishment, the glorious Event of the patient Labours and masterly Projects of the Allies; while they blame the most Christian King's Conduct, in venturing too hastily to withdraw his Troops from his Grandson, (a Fault he doubtless regrets now from every Vein of his Heart, and is endeavouring to repair if possible.)

Nor has our Author a less Opinion of the Sincerity of the *French* Court, in treating of Peace; than of their Conduct, in carrying on the War. He affirms directly (p. 5.) that the *French* did not break off the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, as shall one time or other (he says) be made out to the World. He also tells us, that in the Year 1706, one of the Motives which engag'd Britain in the present War, namely the regaining a *Barrien* for Holland, was effectually answer'd; or might have been so, by the Concessions which 'tis notorious the Enemy offer'd. I will not dispute his Intelligence, and shall always be attentive to whatever can be made out; but I am persuaded, that whoever (before that Time of Proof comes) will ground any Argument on the Sincerity of the *French* Offers in 1706, or in any Year since, will render himself notorious.

Judg, Sir, from this Gentleman's high Opinion of the Enemy, and from his kind Sentiments of the Emperor; the Dutch, and the Bank; whether if he had been in the M——y some Years ago, we might not be now enjoying a glorious and safe Peace.

As to the Emperor: Our Author in his singular good Judgment may fancy as long as he pleases that he is of little Significancy to the Alliance, and that having serv'd his own Turn he

he is indifferent what becomes of his Brother : But I believe the King of France will not be able to think of him without a Qualm at Heart, till he sees him change his Generals, and those Councils which for fifty Years together have kept his Father and him steady in the Interest of Europe.

As to the Dutch : Our Author has taken an admirable Method to render them odious to the British Nation : He is very positive that the French offer'd them all the Barrier they contend for in Flanders, so long ago as 1706. Very well, and why would they go on with the War? Truly, that the Interest of Britain might be secur'd as well as theirs. What a self-interested People are these Dutch ! They won't be content even with a larger and better Country than their own, but obstinately insist, from 1706 to this Hour, that the Interests of Britain be serv'd, before they will agree to sheath the Sword !

And as to the Bank : Does our Author really think that England is farm'd to it? I confess I have always thought some such thing : That is to say, I have ever been persuaded, that the Liberties of England ought to be maintain'd inviolably, till not only the Bank, but all others who have advanc'd Money to the Publick Service, upon Annuities, Lotteries or other Funds, are fairly repaid ; and upon the same foot those Liberties were when the Money was lent. And surely no Alteration can honestly be made in their true and only Security, namely a free Government, of equal Laws, (without a firm persuasion of which they would not have lent a Groat) till the longest Term of the Loans be expir'd at least. After that, if our Author's Successors will lend Money to a King of England upon his own Personal Security, we cannot hinder them. But the present Generation have Monsieur Bernard, with the rest of the Bankers and Merchants of Paris, Lyons, &c. too fresh in their Memory, to be willing to be made Bankrupts ever so illustriously.

Upon the whole, Sir, the World will do our Author the Justice to own, that the Abstract he has given of the Sentiments of his Party, is faithful, and as particular as was necessary ; and must take in good part this Condescension of the new M——s, in declaring themselves by the Mouth of this Gentleman so intelligibly. For their Honour, a Refugee of my Acquaintance has translated it into French, and sent it abroad ; that both our Allies and Enemies may have the Satisfaction to see they have not, on either Side, in the least misunderstood their Designs. But the jest on't is, that after the Party have acted so bare-fac'd and spoken out so plain, Years together, that 'twas impossible they should be mistaken by any Court or Nation in Europe ; they will make the Apprehensions which the Emperor and the States General cannot help entertaining of them, the ground of a new Clamour against the old Ministry and the Whigs. And this obliges me to explain to you, Sir, the following Passage at the Close of our Author's Letter.

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Not daunted (by the Bulk of the Addressers) they resolve to try a new Expedient, and the Interest of Europe is to be represented as inseparable from that of the Ministers: The Dutch and the Court of Vienna are call'd in as Confederates to the Ministry, and such an Indignity is offer'd to the Crown, as no Man who has the Honour of his Country at Heart, can with Patience bear.

When the Seals of Secretary of State were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, Her Majesty was pleas'd to order that it should be signified to the Ministers of the Emperor and the States General here, *that tho Her Majesty had thought fit to remove the Earl of Sunderland, 'twas only a personal Affair, and not with Design to proceed to a Change of the Ministry.*

In return to this voluntary Signification from Her Majesty, their High Mightinesses sent Order to M. Vrybergen, to thank Her Majesty in the best manner possible, and to acquaint Her, that they rejoyc'd extremely for the Assurances she had been pleas'd to give them that she would not change the Ministry; and that those Assurances had deliver'd them from the great Disquiet given them by the Rumour which the Enemy and ill-designing People had industriously spread abroad of Her Intention to change the Ministry and dissolve the Parliament, they being persuaded that the same Reasons which had induc'd Her Majesty not to do the one, might determine her not to do the other.

To much the same Purpose 'tis said the Emperor has written from Vienna; and that the Elector of Hanover (to whose Minister at the Hague my Lord Townshend was order'd to make the like Signification) has return'd his Thanks to Her Majesty, expressing likewise his Desires of the Continuance of the Ministry and Parliament, as pathetically as the other two Potentates.

I think, Sir, I have more real Zeal for maintaining in every Point her Majesty's Prerogative, than this Gentleman and his Party affect to boast of; as believing Her to have the very same Title to her Crown, and to all the Prerogatives of it, that I or any of her Subjects have to breathe in *English* Air, and to enjoy the Properties we lawfully acquire, (which is a Loyalty not founded on Jargon, that flutters in the Head and cannot sink down into the Heart, but on the most natural and rational, and consequently the most solid and lasting Principles;) and therefore I shall treat this Subject very seriously.

The Emperor and the States General are the two Chief Potentates engag'd in an Alliance with Her Majesty against France. Among the Causes for which this War is made, one (and that the Principal specified in the Declaration on the Part of Britain) was the French King's declaring and acknowledging the Pretender to be King of England by the Name of James III. And accordingly, by the Preliminaries concerted by the Plenipotentiaries of those three Potentates, 'twas stipulated that the French King should own Her Majesty for Queen of Great Britain, and that the Pretender should depart France. Now if

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in the Course of the War, Reports spread by the Enemy, and by the Roman Catholicks, profess'd Non-Jurors, and other disaffected Persons in *Britain*, give the Emperor and the States General ground to apprehend that the present Dissensions may have a very bad Influence on the Common Cause in general, and particularly on account of the Pretender, should the M——y be chang'd and a New Parliament chosen in the heat of those Dissensions: And if Her Majesty, being sensible those Potentates were under Disquiet and Apprehension, think fit voluntarily to signify to them that she had no Intention to change her M——y; may not those Potentates return Thanks to her for such her voluntary Communication of that her Intention, and express their Hopes and even their Desires, that the same Reasons which had prompted her to make them easy by those Assurances, with respect to the M——y, might also induce her not to dissolve the Parliament? I shall be told this is a domestick Affair; but is it not such a domestick Affair, as immediately affects the Common Cause, of which the keeping out of the Pretender is a Part? Let those to whom it belongs pronounce upon this Case: But as our *Author*, and after him the *Examiner*, have taken on them to pass Sentence upon it, and the latter to censure the *Dutch* very heavily for this Proceeding, tho he confesses he never saw their Memorial; I will say this for the *Dutch*, that whether they can justify the *Terms* of their Memorial or not, all the World must justify them in their Apprehensions of a New Parliament, when so great a number of Electors have declar'd they hold such Principles as are utterly inconsistent with those which effected the Revolution, and establish'd the Government subsequent thereto. The *British* Nation may possibly have the Benefit of the Word *Abdication*, if ever the Pretender carry his Point: There was no Force us'd on our Part (or at least none ought to have been us'd) against King *James*, if Dr. *Sacheverell* and his Adherents may be believ'd; but the States are conscious, and I suppose scorn to deny, that they did employ Force on that Occasion. And now towards the end of a most burthensom War, if they see a Party in *England* insulting and vilifying a Parliament, which but a few Months ago so solemnly justify'd the Revolution, and the means of bringing it about, condemning *Sacheverell's* contrary Doctrines; if they see the Conferences of Peace broke off by the Enemy, in hopes of some Event to their Advantage from our Dissensions; it must be allow'd they have more than sufficient Cause to dread the Consequences, not only to *Europe* in general, but to their own State in particular. And what Consequences may not we apprehend at home, if neither the Fears of the Allies, nor the Hopes of the Enemy can prevail with our N——w C——s to forbear advising the Dissolution of the present Parliament, when they themselves would

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would be thought to design or desire nothing, (if we may take the Word of the *Writer* of the *Essay on Publick Credit*) but what this Parliament will surely and thorowly enable them to do? Nay that *Writer* says, the best that can be expected from a New Parliament, is, *that they will be but equally zealous with the present for the Liberties of Britain and carrying on the War*; nor does he himself expect even that from them, *if the Electors should chuse Men as mad and foolish as Dr. Sacheverell*.

Here, Sir, I end with this *Writer*; and applying my self to you, recommend it to your inimitable Pencil to describe the Progress of the War till now, in the most shining Colours: Describe the vast Extent of the Kingdoms and Provinces undertaken to be wrested out of the Enemy's Hands; Pass leisurely from the Battel of *Blenheim* to that of *Saragossa*; and all the way observe, that Heaven, to prevent our undervaluing the glorious Cause which the Allies contend for, has suffer'd no Acquisition to be made but by true military Conduct and Fortitude; and permitted Disgrace to fall on those only of their Commanders, who have acted rashly or carelessly, and without Counsel or Discipline. Place in the clearest Light those Generals, who faithful to their Sovereigns, just to themselves, pursuing Honour with an honest Affection, not irregular Lust, have by the Sword in open Day recover'd almost all the *Spanish Dominions in Europe*;

Non campanantes Bellum, sed belligerantes:

Describe them negotiating with Caution and Probity in the Cabinet, equal to their Generosity and Vigilance in the Field; and give them the same Superiority in one as in the other, over the boastful vain Pretenders to perfect Mastery in both. Then set to View in all Magnificence, the Head and Soul of the Alliance, the Pious Royal *ANNE*; and next Her those Ministers and Patriots who have given so many illustrious and immortal Proofs of their Duty and Zeal for her Person, and Love to their Native Country. You cannot want Shade sufficient for all this bright Scene of beauteous Images: The black Hypocrisy and Prevarication, the Servile Prostitution of all *English* Principles, and the malevolent Ambition of a perverse and arrogant Faction, will serve to make the strongest Contrast. And from the whole Piece the World shall judg and down, in spite of senseless Flattery, that the Personal Glory of Monarchs is built upon the Ability and Integrity which their Generals, Ministers and Councils shew, in discharging their respective Trusts with just Regard, as well to the Laws as to the Prince.

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